1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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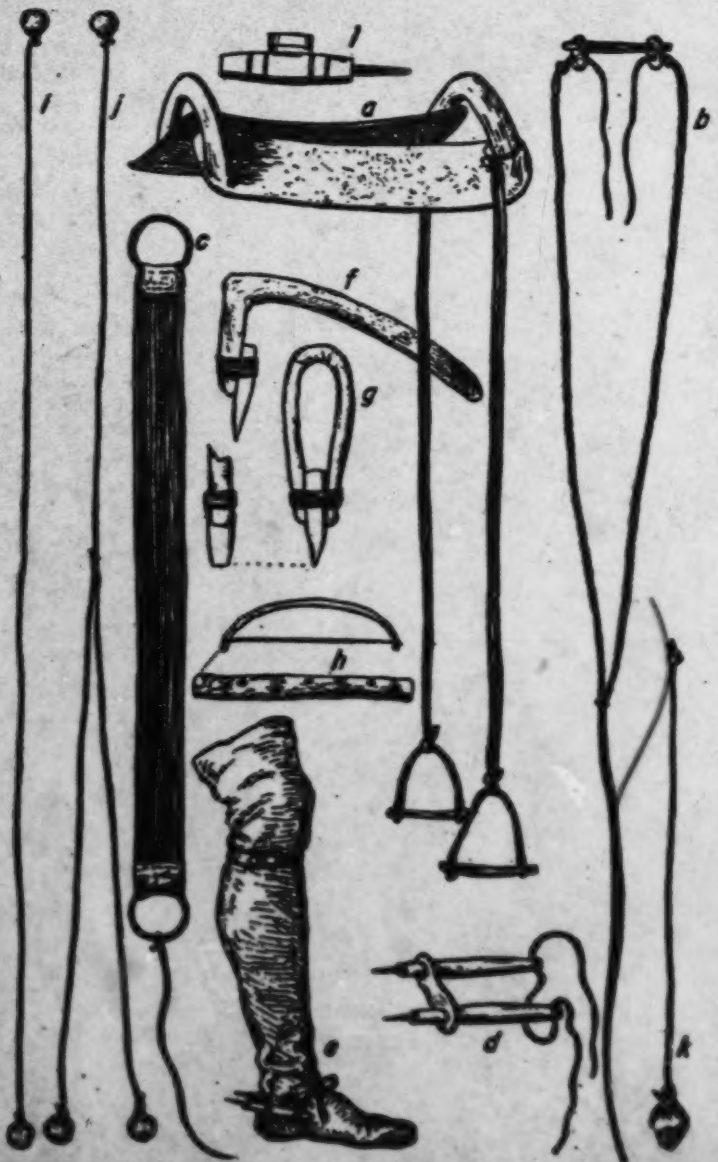

FIGURE 12.—Tehuelche arms and instruments. a, Saddle and stirrup; b, bridle; c, girth; d, spurs; e, boots with spurs; f, ada; g, scraper; h, musical bow; i, ostrich bolas; k, guanaco bolas; l, bola pebble; i, pipe. (After Moreno, 1877, opposite p. 166.)

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323 **Pottery.**—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 20; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

281 325 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Tehuelche* did excellent lasso plaiting and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1853, p. 97, cf. 96).

281 [413] [413] [283] **Skin dressing.**—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, *g*) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1929; Bourne, 1853, pp. 98–99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68–69; Roncagli, 1884, p. 778; Hatcher, 1903, p. 269. Our most detailed account is Kermes, 1893, pp. 209–210, for "*Pampa*" Indians apparently of Río Negro, probably including *Tehuelche;* he records dehairing with ashes.)

415 412 Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1880, p. 53; Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1853, p. 82), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 75). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, *f*; cf. *Musters, 1871, pp. 168, 170*).

411 **Weapons.**—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 84; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, *i, j, k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 153–154.

372 **Fire making.**—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1880, p. 50) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 222) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

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621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognised (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:189; Spegazzini, 1924, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp cypress (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1908, p. 93) states that children's heads were

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Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Boncagl, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 125; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de León (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 51) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (Ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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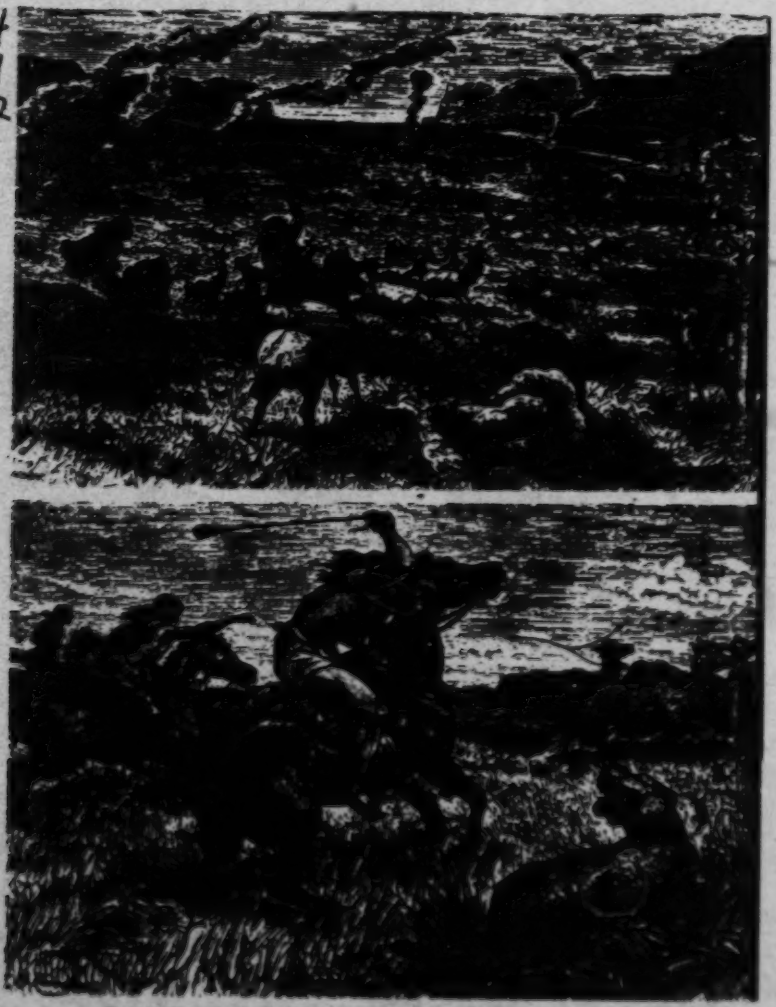

[p. 160 H]

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HUNTING GUANACO AND OSTRICH, VALLEY OF RIO CHICO.

[facing p. iii]

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

gether wrong in naming them giants, yet they are not taller than some Englishmen.' Drake next visited Port St. Julian; and, curiously enough, as Magellan had in this place put to death two and marooned a third of his captains who mutinied, so this harbour was the scene of the execution of Mr. Doughty, who chose rather to be beheaded than to be put on shore. The ensuing year Sarmiento was despatched from Callao to examine the Straits in search of the daring Englishman. He saw natives who chased their game on horseback, and brought it down with bolas. But fifty years had elapsed since horses had been imported by the Spaniards of the Rio de la Plata, and already the Indians in the far south had become horsemen, and would seem to have exchanged their bows and arrows for the bolas.

In 1581 Sarmiento was sent from Spain with 2,500 men in twenty-three ships, to found new colonies in the Straits, and established a settlement, leaving 400 men and thirty women furnished with eight months' provisions. On his way home his ship was captured by the English, and the unhappy colonists were altogether forgotten and neglected by their Government.

Five years after, Thomas Cavendish anchored in a bay to the south of St. Julian, called by him Port Desire, which perpetuates the name of his little craft of 120 tons. Here the natives attacked his men with bows and arrows. Visiting the Straits, he arrived at the settlement, and found only twelve men and three women surviving, the rest having perished of slow starvation and disease; and the name of the place, Port Famine, conferred by him, still recalls the miserable fate of these ill-fated colonists.

On his next voyage, in 1591, Cavendish died; but John

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

received a fixed salary, which, however, generally proved to be balanced by an account with the store for clothes, &c. In sealing expeditions all went shares, like our own mackerel and herring fishermen; while for working at the Salina, extra pay was given and well earned, especially at this time, since it involved sleeping out in the open for several successive nights, and that in a Patagonian May. Such were the companions of my residence at Puhon, besides whom more than a score of dogs of all sorts slept anyhow and anywhere, and followed anybody, giving their masters the preference.

A short time after our arrival, Mr. Clarke took stock of the stores of provision, which could not be replenished until the return of the schooner. The result was that the amount of biscuits and sugar was found to be about equal to a month's consumption. These articles were accordingly divided into equal portions, and each man received his share, to husband or improvidently use, according to his bent. There was abundance of coffee, black beans, tobacco, and maize, which accordingly were used at discretion. The next thing was to accumulate a good stock of fuel before the snow should render it difficult, if not impossible, to transport it.

Every Sunday all hands except one—the cook of the week—left on guard, went hunting, and, as occasion required, during the week, the gauchos would proceed to supply the larder with guanaco or ostrich, the latter being, however, rare. Idleness was unknown; when not hunting, wood-cutting, or salt-raising, manufactures were the order of the day. We picked stones and worked them round for bolas, and covered them with the hide stripped from the hock of the guanaco, the soga or thong connecting the balls being made from the skin of the neck, the method of obtaining it being as follows. The head having been cut off, and an incision made just above the shoulder, the skin is dragged off into no piece; and after the wool has been picked off, is softened by hand and carefully cut into strips, which are closely plaited.

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the Southern Indians—friends of Crimé, who was a cousin of Cuastro—and Orkeke's and Casimiro's people, or the Northern party, were soon ranged in open line at some twenty yards distance from each other. Cuastro was conspicuous by his tunic or 'buff coat' of hide studded with silver, while his only weapon was a single sword or rapier. The fight commenced with an irregular discharge of guns and revolvers, which lasted a few minutes, till some of the Northern or Orkeke's Indians, led by Casimiro, closed up, and a hand-to-hand contest with swords and lances took place, resulting in the death of Cuastro and the severe wounding of two or three Southern Indians. The Northerns then drew off to reload, and were about to renew the action, when Tankelow proposed a truce, which was accepted on the understanding that both parties were to march at once in the same direction. The women and children were then recalled from the bushes whither they had retired, the horses brought up, and the dead buried. The Tehuelches' lance is entirely different to that of the Araucanos or Pampas, and is only used when fighting on foot; it consists of a heavy shaft eighteen feet in length, at the extremity of which a blade is fixed about eighteen inches long, constituting a most formidable weapon in the hands of an expert Indian. Cayuke, whom I have before mentioned, in this fight was armed with the lance, and ran Cuastro through the body, although protected by his mail and endeavouring to parry the point with a sword. This Cuastro was a brave man; when dying, with several bullets in his body, and several lance thrusts, he sprang up to his full height and called out, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me;' his wife then rushed up to him crying and sobbing, but he fell down dead at the same moment. Casimiro had a narrow escape; he parried a blow of a sword with what may be termed the slack part of his mantle, but if the blow had caught him on the head, as intended, it would have ended his career then and there. The casualties were a wound in Crime's leg, and

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CEREMONY OF WELCOME (TEHUELCHES AND ARAUCANIANS).

[facing p 157]

2: Museo T-S (1869-1870)1873
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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SMS Tebuelche SMS

(48) only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and
221 for the chiefs at the same time to receive their salutes of
630 mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the
(22) Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three
291 head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still
291 also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos,
● 611 chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we
579 were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the
[607] cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the *chiefs of our party*: and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One,
727 however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards,
535 and some of our party were soon busy in a game of *truco*, at which the stranger being a professor, soon cleared them out completely.

622 Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

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Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanli- 516
ness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when
encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours
together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the clean-
liness of their kibbis and utensils, and will, if they can
obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of.
Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much
afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool
of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode
of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their
clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the
Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these
inflictions, to which, however (*experto credo*), he will soon
become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking 337
the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in
a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured 41
in the illustrations will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons
chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the
bolas filled with two balls called 'chumá,' for capturing
the ostrich, and those with three called 'yachilo,' for
guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the
Gauchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are gene- 411
rally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are 439
employed, procured in the settlements, which require no 177
covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late 325
years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered
into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are
common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but
the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and
is consequently lighter by at least one-third than the other, is
generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in
so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging
balls round the head is generally made, as previously de-
scribed, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits,
the length of which should be between seven and eight feet.
It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an exact 224

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

224 line, as the necks of guanaco and ostrich are always aimed at; entangling the hind legs of the quadruped being useless, though cattle and horses are always balled round the hind legs. A shot at a bird or beast bounding or running across is almost sure to miss; of course misses are frequent, as fifty to seventy yards is often the distance of a shot delivered from a horse's back at full gallop and the balls whirr through the air with their peculiar sound, only perhaps to fall into a tangled bush. Then it is that the advantage of the bright material becomes evident, for the horseman does not stop, but gallops on and throws another pair, returning afterwards to pick up the dropped weapons, frequently very hard to find on the pebble-strewn, grass-grown, or shrub-covered surface. I generally threw down a handkerchief or some such thing, easily seen, to mark the spot; but the metal bolas are so much preferred on account of
224 being easily seen, that a pair are worth a horse. In addition
411 to the bolas, a lazo is used when hunting cattle or horses, and sometimes for the pumas, although the ordinary method is to kill them by first stunning them with a blow on the
411 head. The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun or revolver, sword or dagger, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and altogether different to the light lance of Araucanian and Pampa horsemen, and the bola perdida or single ball, so called because once thrown it is not picked up again: this weapon is quickly constructed; a sharp-pointed stone is taken, covered with hide except the point, which is left out, and thong of raw hide about a yard long is attached, with a knot made in the end to prevent it slipping from the hand whilst whirling it round previous to throwing it at an enemy. Before the introduction of firearms, the bola perdida was the original weapon of the Tehuelches, and is even at the present day a most deadly missile in their hands. (See fig. 11.)

I am aware that Pigafetta, the historian of Magellan's voyage, describes the ancestors of these Indians as using

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bows and arrows, but I am inclined to think that this must 411
have applied either to a tribe of Fuegians or a party of
Pampas living in the valley of the Rio Negro. It is certain
that no ancient flint arrow-heads are met with south of the
Rio Negro, where they abound; also that there is but little,
if any, wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows,
and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the intro-
duction of horses the Indian migrations were confined to a
smaller area; besides, although no arrow-heads are found
in the interior of Patagonia proper, ancient bolas are not
unfrequently met with. These are highly valued by the
Indians, and differ from those in present use by having
grooves cut round them, and by their larger size and greater
weight. The introduction and diffusion of firearms has 713
almost superseded the use of defensive armour; but chain
suits, and hide surcoats studded thickly with silver, are still
—as instances before given show—possessed and employed:
and before going into battle the warriors are often padded
like cricketers, coreonillas or saddle-cloths, and ponchos
being employed to form a covering, the folds of which will
turn a sword cut or lance thrust.

During our long sojourn at Teckel, as hunting was avoided 461
as much as possible, in order to rest the horses, the men
occupied themselves in Indian arts and manufacture, some
account of which may be deemed interesting.

As the horse is the mainstay of the Indian, let the saddle- 492
gear take precedence. (See figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.)

The saddles are constructed in the following manner. A
piece of timber is split in two, and reduced, by means of a
small hand-adze, to the requisite size and thickness to form
the side boards or flaps, skilfully adapted to the shape of the
horse's back; in these boards holes are bored at each end,
and the saddle-trees, which are chosen from angular limbs of
trees, like knees for boat-building, and reduced to the requi-
site size, are lashed on by hide. Over this fresh guanaco
hide, divested of its woolly coat and carefully cut to the

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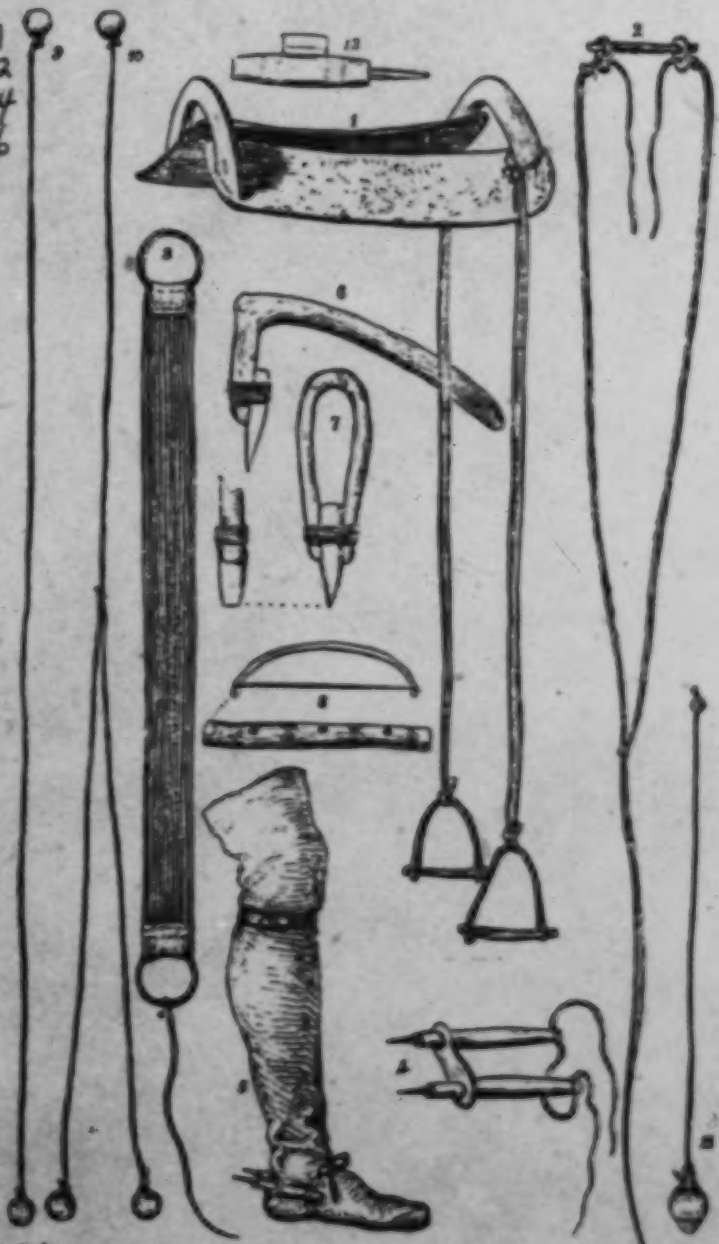

1. Saddle. 2. Bridle. 3. Girth. 4. Spurs. 5. Boot. 6. Adze. 7. Sweeper.
8. Musical instrument. 9. Carriage basket. 10. Guarnacca basket. 11. Bolas perdidas. 12. Pipe.

12

[facing p 176]

[No pg 177]

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point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Head-stalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

[411] Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'maniços,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'savages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal tube, and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Cazimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoe-horn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cups,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique speci- 411
mens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the
locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to
set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted,
and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking
instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, 291
whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four 142
women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to 521
be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and
stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the
cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the
others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of
Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were
gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs
bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into
two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions
charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I
came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the
sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then
asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been
dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro
had not been dead and come back again, and various other
questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, 574
and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio 431
that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding 291
thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed
with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he
made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term
it, 'leuku,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to
the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for
the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It
was perfectly new, having been just completed by his
daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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volcanic aspect, was named 'Cerroè.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimé's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Chanque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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291 History, the United States National Museum, and the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.

291 136 In regard to the material preferred by the Tehuelche for their robes, Father Falkner[6] writes:

> Those made with the skins of young colts and mares are the least valuable. The mantles made of the skins of a small, stinking animal, like our polecat, which they call yaguane, are superior to these last. . . .
>
> The fur of the coipu, or otter, is in equal esteem with that of the yaguane, or maikel. . . .
>
> The mantles made of the skins of guanaco are in still greater estimation than those before-mentioned, on account of the warmth and fineness of their wool, and their long duration. But those which are in the highest esteem of all are made with the skins of small foxes, which are exceedingly soft and beautiful. They are of a mottled grey, with a red cast, but not so durable as those of the guanaco.

On this subject Musters[7] writes:

> Besides the guanaco mantles which are most generally worn, others are made from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat being the most valuable, but like the others, are generally intended only for barter.

In addition, the present writer has seen several mantles of ostrich-skins from Patagonia. While these have undoubtedly been made by the Indians and exhibit characteristic indigenous sewing, yet it is exceedingly doubtful that they were ever used locally. On the contrary, it appears that they were manufactured merely in order to [839] trade with white settlers.

A considerable variety of furs, then, were used on occasion in Tehuelche robes, but in most cases the guanaco was selected. This wild relative of the llama, one of the four New World camels, has been most succinctly described by the friend of Capt. Musters[8] who exclaimed that it combined "the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil." We shall examine the methods of hunting guanaco and the weapons employed.

411 When first encountered by Europeans the Tehuelche armed themselves with bows and arrows. Their bows apparently were not like those of the Ona, for they are described as short and stiff.[9] After

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[6] 1774, p. 128.
[7] 1871, p. 180.
[8] Ibid., p. 137.
[9] Oviedo, lib. xx, cap. vi.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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the introduction of the horse, between 1670 and 1741, the Tehuelche abandoned their ancestral weapon in favor of the bolas. As pointed out by Outes,[10] there is no literary mention of bolas in Patagonia before the expedition of John Byron in 1764, but all travelers thereafter speak of it. On the other hand, various discoverers during the first half of the sixteenth century observed bolas in use among the inhabitants of the La Plata littoral, such as the Minuané, Charrúa, and Querandí, but archeological evidence indicates that this missile was never employed so extensively in that region as it was later in Patagonia. In Chile, Bolivia, and Peru occasional finds have been made of grooved stones suggesting bolas, but their use never was typical, for the inhabitants of these lands preferred the sling. The greatest development of the bolas, then, was among the Tehuelche, but the center of dispersion apparently was the La Plata district.

Among the Tehuelche three types of bolas were employed (fig. 2, *g–i*). The simplest of these, known as the *bola perdida*, was a stone ball attached to a cord about a yard long. This was employed in warfare, for finishing off wounded game, and for killing pumas, which they always attacked at close quarters (fig. 3). A second type, called *chemé*, had two balls joined by a cord six or seven feet long. This was intended primarily for capturing ostriches. A third type, with three balls, known as *yorkóo*, was dedicated to the pursuit of guanacos.

In compound bolas one ball is especially designed to be grasped in the hand when the missile is upon the cast. We do not know the Tehuelche name for it, but it is called the *manija* in Spanish. This stone is not round, but oval (fig. 2, *d–f*), and is lighter by about a third than the other balls.

In former times bolas' balls were made of stone or bronzite, but the Tehuelche have employed lead or copper when procurable. Archeological examples from southern Patagonia, illustrated in fig. 2, *a–c*, show various types of grooving. More recently, however, the stones have been enclosed in leather sacks and therefore have no grooves. The average weight of a ball is perhaps a pound, but there is a good deal of variation in this respect.

The cord used in Tehuelche bolas is of ostrich or guanaco sinew, braided four-ply.

As a weapon the bolas has both its advantages and disadvantages.

[10] 1905, p. 427.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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The hunting range above is up to seventy yards, which compares favorably with the effective bow-and-arrow hunting range. Its advantage over the arrow is that it will kill or entangle across a wide

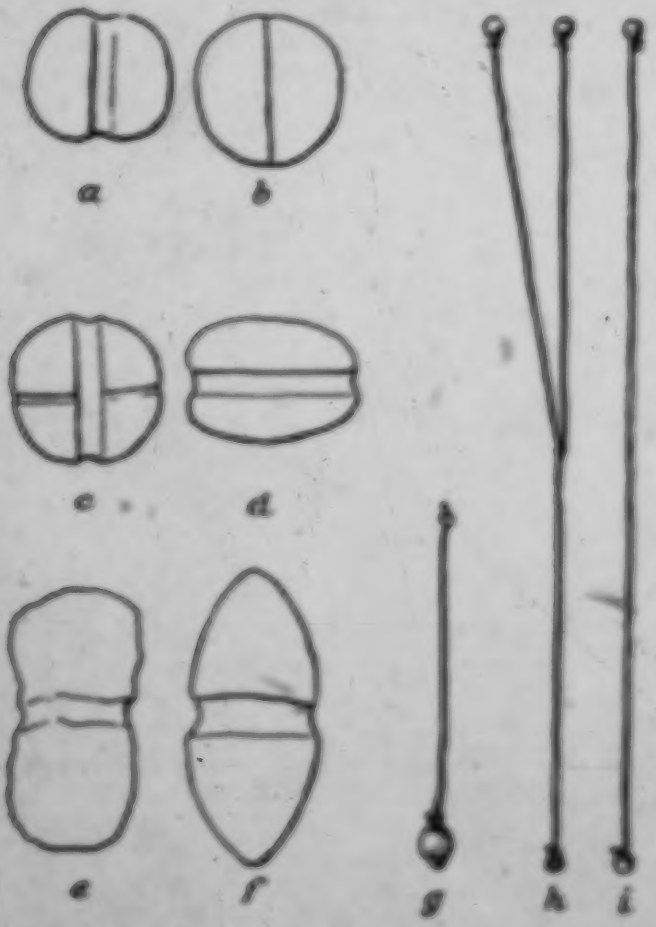

FIG. 2.—Tehuelche bolas. *a–f*, Rio Gallegos valley (Hamilton collection; not to scale); *g–i*, after Musters.

path, while the arrow must make a direct hit. On the other hand, the release of the arrow can be timed exactly, so that it is possible, by gauging the speed, to strike a transversely moving target; but it is impossible to time so accurately the swing of the bolas, and the

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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hunter must be moving in the same line as the quarry when he makes his cast.

The actual hunting of guanaco was a joint occupation for all male members of the group who happened to be living together. After camp had been broken, the horses packed, and the women and children set on the road, the men would sit around a fire and smoke for a while. Then, at the command of the chief, "two men start off at a gallop and ride around a certain area of the country, varying according to the number of the party, lighting fires at intervals to mark their track. After the lapse of a few minutes two others are dispatched, and so on until only a few are left with the cacique. These spread themselves out in a crescent, closing in and narrowing the circle on a point where those first started have by this time arrived. The crescent rests on a baseline formed by the slowly-proceeding line of women, children, and baggage-horses. The ostriches and herds of guanaco run from the advancing party, but are checked by the pointsmen, and when the circle is well closed in are attacked with the bolas, two men frequently chasing the same animal from different sides. The dogs also assist in the chase, but the Indians are so quick and expert with the bolas that unless their horses are tired, or they happen to have gambled away their bolas, the dogs are not much called into use."[1]

Information about the manufacture and decoration of guanaco robes is scanty. We therefore quote in full the accounts of Musters[2] and Bourne,[3] as they are the most extensive we have been able to find.[4] Musters' narrative follows.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed in a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle [fig. 4]. They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into a pulp, after which they are softened in the

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[1] Musters, 1871, p. 71.
[2] Ibid., pp. 179-180.
[3] 1883, pp. 98-99.
[4] Cooper (1917) cites the following references to Tehuelche robes and robes: Magalhaens Transylvanus, 1523, p. 21. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 458. Pedro de Sitio, 1906, p. 138. Outes, 1905, p. 258. Pigafetta, 1906, I, pp. 48-49. Oviedo, II, p. 40. Fletcher, 1854, p. 53. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 234. Dr. Cooper has most kindly assured me that he knows no detailed accounts except those of Bourne and Musters.

[The original sources have been processed—A]

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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was inevitable. Some of the men were dashed violently upon the deck, others precipitated into the boiling surf, where they clung desperately to spars, and fragments of the wreck. While the confusion was wildest, and the dream of effort for escape was subsiding into the calmness of despair, I suddenly awoke, and for some time was unable to comprehend where I was, or how I came there. If I were indeed shipwrecked, I was also, like Jonah, vomited upon dry land. I drew my hand across my eyes to assure myself that vision was unobstructed, cast my eyes right and left;—the lodge, the ashes of the last night's fire, the chief and his motley family, the door through which the "lubber fiend" had followed me with his restless eyes, and into which the fierce dogs had driven me, recalled my distracted senses, and restored consciousness of a reality which, at the moment, I would almost have exchanged for the wildest terrors of my dream.

With the light calmer thoughts succeeded, and I once more addressed myself to the task of effecting my escape. The first thing was to get the chief with me to the shore, in readiness to meet a boat, and to renew negotiations for my liberty. Observing that he was awake, I began to promise him an abundant supply of the articles most tempting to his fancy, on condition of my release. He carelessly replied that he would go with me to the beach by and by. I tried to urge his departure, being anxious to go without the rabble at his heels the day before, but for whose violence he would now hardly be master of me; but there was no hurrying his movements. He took down his little cutlass, drew it from its brazen scabbard, and commenced sharpening it with a rusty file, trying its

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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[41]

edge with his fingers as the work went on, and casting side glances at me the while. Whether this ceremony was the preface to some act of violence he meditated, or a scene for effect, to fill me with a wholesome dread of his power, I could not guess; but, determined to show no foolish fears, I thought it best to put a bold face upon the matter, and make an equally striking demonstration of courage and presence of mind, qualities which savages generally appreciate. I therefore approached him, tried the edge with my own fingers, praised the beauty of the instrument, and interested myself in the process of sharpening it. Following up my assault on his vanity, I extolled him as one of the best of men, and assured him that when we got to the shore I would amply reward him for his kindness to me; taking occasion, however, to throw in a hint on the vast importance of starting early. This I enforced by the suggestion that, when he got his good things, the fewer there were present, the fewer claimants there would be to divide the spoils.

After much coaxing, he started after his old horse; I mounted behind him, and we moved slowly off. When we arrived at the shore it was blowing a perfect gale. A boat could not live in the billows. All three vessels had dragged their anchors, and lay at some distance from their anchorage of yesterday. Bark Hebe appeared to be dragging towards the Orange Bank, a dangerous shoal. I afterwards learned that the Hebe, after getting into water as shoal as would barely float her, slipped her cables, put up a little sail, and finally succeeded in weathering the shoal and getting safely out to sea. The J. B. Gager was dragging in the same direction. My own vessel was

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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horses, the stock of which is frequently replenished by stealing from the Spanish and Chilian settlements. These animals are, for the most part, of small size and inferior quality, half wild, coated with coarse, shaggy hair — lean and woe-begone enough, just "fit for the crows." A few valuable specimens of a superior breed are found among them, doubtless "conveyed" there. The rude saddles in use among them are mostly of Spanish origin, obtained at the settlements. They consist each of two boards, an inch thick, six inches wide, and two feet long, rounded at the corners so as to fit the horse's back, and united by two strips of board passing across the back-bone, the several pieces lashed together with leather strings. A piece of guanaco-skin often serves in default of a saddle. The steed is guided by a single rein, tied round the lower jaw; some of them sport a bit of iron or wood, secured by a string round the jaw, attaching the rein to this. Spurs, like the rest of their riding apparatus, are more efficient than elegant. They are indeed rude and cruel things, — straight sticks, six inches long, with a long, sharp iron inserted into the end, secured by a string or strap around the hollow of the foot, and tied at the top, a second strap nearer the heel, and a third passing round the heel. They are all agile and excellent horsemen.

For weapons, the chief, and a few of the principal men, had cutlasses or swords. They had no fire-arms, nor could I learn that they understood their use; bows and arrows, spears and war-clubs, appeared to be equally unknown. All the men carried knives; and the *bolas*, a missile weapon used in the capture of all kinds of game. This consists of two round stones, or lead balls, if they can be

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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procured weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife.

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes.

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring.

gummous, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots made from the hocks or legs of horses or large gummous, and their spurs are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their foreheads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird. These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and being thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur. Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large gummous, the pads stuffed with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood, are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end; it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [68] The reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they work they gather it up to their left hand. They do not use their left hand for anything else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circumstance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide, a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel, woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of rosy soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which form women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 15
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lazo, and also 41
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [69]
Aires or [78] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [79]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 812]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The toldos are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 582
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the